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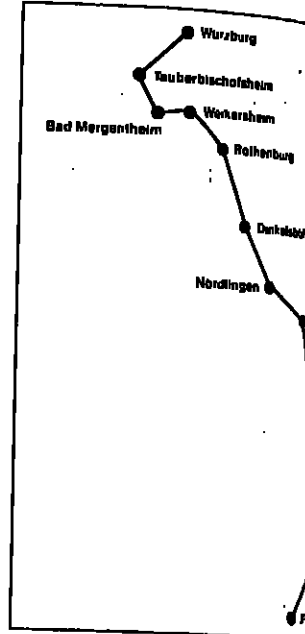
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## Nato takes the initiative in bid to get arms talks going again

Foreign Ministers ended the pact's conference in Brussels with an appeal to the Soviet Union to return to Geneva and resume the missile talks. In a declaration called the Brussels Declaration, the pact's members offered the East Bloc "comprehensive dialogue and long-term cooperation."

They hope that talk about disarmament will begin again, despite Soviet behaviour. Delegates to the Nato conference in Brussels tried to make this

organisation is not biding its time and see what the Kremlin's intent on taking the initiative.

A step in this direction is the decision that all Nato foreign ministers will meet in the opening of the Stockholm conference only next year.

The conference is to deal with confidence-building measures and disarmament.

The American Secretary of State, George Shultz, who at one time was not convinced by the idea, has agreed with the pact's members.

The conference in Brussels could easily have devoted its attention to a single issue: the pact's internal relations.

What were the Soviets to resume negotiations on limitation or reduction of nuclear weapons and intercontinental nuclear missiles?

It could be done to persuade the Soviet Union to send its delegations back to the Geneva conference tables as soon as possible.

Unfortunately it did not. Nato Foreign Ministers, largely prompted by Bonn's Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, tried instead to find a point both to domestic opinion and to the East.

The Atlantic alliance, they tried to make clear, still hopes that talks will

begin. The North Atlantic pact is not ready to see it and when the Kremlin is ready to negotiate again.

What individual Nato countries, especially the United States, would have preferred.

Instead, Nato is approaching the East in an attempt to influence the process of reconsideration and reappraisal Moscow said was needed and it intended embarking on when it called off the Start talks.

One step in this direction is the Stockholm decision.

The ministers are to go to Stockholm regardless whether their East Bloc opposite numbers turn up. But it is hoped that Mr Gromyko will not miss the opportunity.

A further step is the Brussels Declaration, although compared with the ideas recently outlined by Herr Genscher in a bylined article the declaration is extremely modest.

By and large it reiterates well-known Nato arguments. The difference is that the language used is more urgent in tone, so much so as to amount to a virtual appeal.

Over and above nuclear weapons Nato's offer to the Warsaw Pact, covering the whole gamut of security policy, is "to cooperate with us to bring about a long-term, lasting, constructive and realistic relationship based on balance, moderation and reciprocity."

Herr Genscher suggested outlining far-reaching prospects extending to all other sectors of political rapprochement between East and West.

He proposed in particular to draw Moscow's attention to the benefits of comprehensive economic cooperation with the West. This part of his proposals is mentioned in a solitary sentence in the declaration, and then only in extremely general terms.

The term "economic affairs" does not occur at all in the declaration, so gaps in this respect could only be bridged in direct talks with the East. A third step was suggested by Belgium. A commission is to give long-term consideration to how policy toward the East is to be developed.

Bonn and other Nato governments with similar ideas would probably gain an opportunity of submitting their views on the subject. However, in any assessment of this doubtless



### On the way to Brussels

Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher (left) is amused by American Secretary of State George Shultz during a press conference in Bonn before the two went on to Brussels for the Nato meeting. (Photo: dpa)

number of sectors, especially armaments, runs counter to long-term Soviet interests.

If the West is to succeed in this attempt it must at least do its best to lay a fresh groundwork for objective talks. Vilification or threats will rule out the possibility.

So what is at stake is to call on both superpowers, in different sectors, in different ways and in different degrees of intensity, to exercise moderation.

At the same time they must also be persuaded in their mutual relations to reassign priority of politics over a predominantly military view of matters.

These are tasks that the Europeans might first and foremost be expected to perform, and a start was made in Brussels (not for the first time, incidentally).

The Brussels Declaration is the most readily apparent outcome of this endeavour, which is hampered by the Europeans' inability to arrive at a modicum of a common political viewpoint.

This common view might arguably oblige both Washington and Moscow to pay greater attention to European wishes, especially the desire for relaxation of tension.

But swift success, let alone a rethink or change of mind, need not be expected.

As both quantity and quality of armament increase with the arms-race, so the risk of a nuclear "mishap" due to the element of human or technical error increases.

Strengthening conventional defence

Continued on page 5



### Dearest work of art ever

This 12th century German manuscript has fetched £8.4m (about DM32.5m) at Sotheby's in London. The 226-page copy of the gospels, written for Henry the Lion of Saxony and Bavaria, has been bought with both public and private cash so it can be returned to Germany. The manuscript which now becomes the most expensive in history, disappeared after the war before turning up at Sotheby's. (Photo: dpa)

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## ■ WORLD AFFAIRS

## EEC summit posed too many problems

The 27th Common Market summit meeting ended in Athens in fiasco. Intensive efforts by European Council chairman Andreas Papandreu, the Greek Prime Minister, failed to find a compromise on differences, especially between Britain and France. Greece, the host country, suggested a special conference to clarify outstanding issues, but the Ten failed to take up the proposal because no specific ideas were put forward for discussion.

The failure of the Athens EEC summit was a foregone conclusion. At the previous Stuttgart session of the European Council chaired by Bonn Chancellor Helmut Kohl in June the Common Market leaders clearly bit off more than they could chew.

They set themselves too demanding a task, left themselves with too little time and took the wrong run-up. Anyone who felt the outcome was a disappointment must have been labouring under a delusion.

None of the 10 European Community heads of government and their Foreign Ministers arrived in Athens with any great expectations.

Since July the Foreign Ministers had conferred in vain on seven occasions with the Community's Finance and Agriculture Ministers.

They failed to make headway toward a solution to the EEC's financial difficulties and the causes that lay behind them.

So instead of being able to deal with the broad outlines the heads of government had to get down to the nitty gritty themselves.

They dealt with guarantee thresholds for surplus agricultural produce, per capita shares of EEC revenue and expenditure, and statistical factors such as coefficients and modulators.

"We were put to work at the level of a parliamentary committee," Chancellor Kohl afterwards admitted, "and it was too much for us."

The European Community has definitely reached a critical turning-point, and the Chancellor's comment to this effect refers to more than the material side of the EEC summit failure.

Doubts arose more than ever as to whether a community such as the EEC with its procedures of arriving at decisions can still be salvaged.

For years it has staggered from one failure to the next. Athens was by no means the first Common Market summit that failed to achieve results or to issue a final communiqué or declaration.

Prime Minister Papandreu, who chaired the summit, eventually refused to make the otherwise customary political declarations on burning international issues.

Given the EEC's inability to solve its own problems it would have been presumptuous, he felt, to express an opinion on the problems of others.

Declarations had been drafted on the Middle East, Lebanon and Central America and on the international economic situation.

They were the subjects he felt it would not befit the Common Market to pass

judgment on. The prepared statements were accordingly shelved.

What the EEC leaders discussed in Athens was complicated details, figures, and formulas such as had previously been delegated to expert working parties by the Foreign and Finance Ministers.

The ball was now returned to the Common Market leaders' court.

In Stuttgart they had authorised wide-ranging negotiations on all problems connected with the package agreed on the European Community's financial troubles and further progress.

But the integration policy guidelines hurriedly put together in Stuttgart were clearly not enough. What was fed into the procedure from below failed to lead to wide-ranging negotiations.

The outcome was merely a bazaar, with everyone bargaining to the best of their ability and their own benefit. The summit was merely a superior bazaar.

So Athens was more than just a failure to reach agreement on the issues discussed. With taxpayers' money at stake it was dynamite.

The outcome of the Athens summit was a declaration of bankruptcy of the institutional system designed 26 years ago for six countries.

The system has since become stultified and is no longer capable of achieving what is possible in the 10-member EEC.

Enlargement of the community to 12 members seems bound to be a catastrophe unless it is used as an opportunity of thoroughly modernising and purging the procedural rut.

Carl A. Ehrhardt  
(Handelsblatt, 7 December 1983)

## Athens failure makes clear need for European integration

After the fiasco of the Athens summit Western European integration is more urgently needed than ever.

Many people in the Common Market countries would much rather run their own affairs without constant interference from their EEC partners.

But European integration remains indispensable. It must go ahead.

The technology gap by which Europe trails behind the United States and Japan cannot be bridged without combined efforts and a large domestic sales market as a base.

No individual state can hold its own against the world powers of trade, monetary policy and commodity supplies. The EEC states are happy to nestle in the EEC's lee, for instance.

The swiftly growing need to influence US policy along European lines calls for concentrated effort in the Old World. So do relations with the neighbouring East Bloc.

Cooperation at the EEC level brings benefits in dealings with the East, including intra-German rapprochement, with the GDR deriving benefit as an unofficial member of the Common Market.

The 10-member European Community, shortly due to number 12 member-countries, is nearing the limits of its ability to act.

It is no longer able to cope with national egoism. The Treaty of Rome envisaged majority decisions to deal with this problem, but in 1966 France stripped the EEC Commission in Brussels of power by scuttling majority voting.

All major decisions in the Common Market have since had to be reached unanimously.

There is no imperative need for the European Commission to take part in the process; no decision necessarily bears the hallmark of common European ideas.

Besides, the obligation to reach unanimous agreement leads to endless delays and makes the Community incapable of action.

Britain, Denmark, Greece and would-be member Spain are opposed to majority decisions by the Council of Ministers. Whether France is prepared to reconsider for the sake of progress toward integration remains to be seen.

It could happen if, for instance, European economic and welfare integration were to be followed by technological and arms integration and swift progress toward a European defence community.

These are all ideas that have been under discussion for over a year in Paris as a morning gift to Europe by the French Socialist government.

A sound European Community is a vital interest for the divided German nation, the free majority of which needs a wider homeland.

Popular emotion, including German sentiment, could be reawoused for a Europe of social justice in which all men are brothers, starting with the West.

The West would then provide a model for a peace order for Europe as a whole. It would also show that Europeans can work and live in prosperity with the Germans.

That would lay the groundwork, and arguably already does, for the consent of all neighbouring countries that would later be needed to German unity.

Hermann Bohle  
(Kleiner Nachrichten, 12 December 1983)

## Outlook for Middle East fraught with danger signs

One of many gloomy forecasts for the next year is that of a military clash between Syria and Israel, with no-one sure if it would remain a limited, local conflict.

The situation is all the more explosive now the raid by US Sixth Fleet aircraft on Syrian positions on the Lebanese border has been widely interpreted in the Middle East as the result of US-Israeli collusion.

Coming as it did shortly after Israeli Premier Yitzhak Shamir's visit to Washington, it was seen as the first outcome of secret agreements.

Israeli public opinion views with great reservation the closing of ranks by Washington and Jerusalem. Opposition spokesmen in particular are worried at the idea of strategic coordination.

What upset them is the idea that Israel is allowing itself to be taken into tow by Washington and is likely to embark on a course that is more in America's interest than in Israel's own.

Washington's main interest is in bolstering Lebanon as a bulwark against Soviet influence. Second, the US government would like to bring the marines home as soon as possible and in time for the US Presidential elections.

America needs Israel, especially the Israeli armed forces, if it is to achieve these targets. Israel is to speed up deve-

lopments and force the Syrians.

How will Damascus react? The choice of words was not delicate. Being ready to negotiate to disengage itself from this sort of context at a level except when a government is so deep that it cannot pull it out.

The enormous build-up of missiles, aircraft and artillery on the Syrian side is a sign that Israeli action may not even be needed to start a war machine in motion.

In a similar situation Israel was along the lines of "attack is the best defence." The Israeli military has ordered a preventive strike this time but dismissed the idea.

The Israeli public are not keen on the country's economic situation does not encourage it either. They are weary, *Haaretz*, the Tel Aviv paper writes, characterising the public feeling.

Would a military attack on Syria Israel's interest in any case? Probably, the Americans are keen on the withdrawal from Lebanon and Israel's are.

Now that Menachem Begin and Sharon have quit the foreign and political stage Israel has shown ambitions of intervening in Lebanese affairs and establishing order in Beirut.

This ambition has now been accepted by Washington, which is determined by any means at its command to up the pro-Western regime of Gemayel.

No-one in Jerusalem is underestimating the Syrian danger, of course. Syrians have more in mind than the territories taken over by Israel in 1967.

The issue, as Damascus sees it, is of principle: whether Syria can co-exist with Israel. The Syrians say it can. President Assad as the most ardent of the rejectionist front has succeeded in dissuading Jordan from taking part in the peace process.

He has also prevented Egypt from being fully received back into the world and fought Yasser Arafat, the PLO leader was toying with the idea of a confederation of Jordan and West Bank.

Damascus can count on a powerful ally, the Soviet Union.

Between July and November 1982 Syria took delivery of 30,000 tons of arms and military equipment worth \$2bn.

Thus reinforced militarily, Damascus might well decide to wage war on Israel. A pretext could be found any day. Israel in the embrace of Big Brother America will find it hard to shake blood-caked mire of Lebanon from its feet.

Herbert Fried  
(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 8 December 1983)

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## Weizsäcker set to become next president

Richard von Weizsäcker will succeed Karl Carstens to become the Federal Republic's sixth president.

There has been a foregone conclusion since Chancellor Helmut Kohl, the chairman of the CDU, officially nominated him.

The CDU/CSU, which has the absolute majority in the electoral college, has opted for the best man.

No other candidate has had better qualifications for the post: political experience in government and opposition, foreign experience and, above all, a demonstrated tolerance that transcends party lines and age groups.

Von Weizsäcker is the first presidential nominee who can be certain of approval even by the strongest opposition, in this case the SPD.

SPD parliamentary leader Hans-Joachim Vogel said that it was important to have a broadly divided political parties agree on a president.

The SPD's decision not to nominate a candidate of its own underscores the solidarity of the nation's democratic forces despite policy differences.

There were times when Helmut Kohl and others thought about a different candidate for fear that CDU and FDP would lose the Berlin election without von Weizsäcker at the head of the Senate.

It speaks for Kohl and his party that they put the nation's good above party interests in Berlin.

Werner Neumann  
(Lichter Nachrichten, 20 November 1983)

## ■ HOME AFFAIRS

## Strauss sounds a warning over Lambsdorff affair

him, and he knows that he will have to prove his worth - at the latest in the Berlin and North Rhine Westphalia elections next year.

Considering the way CDU and CSU have been treating each other since coming to power, this is almost an honourable stance.

Whether the Chancellor is in a position to accept the challenge will largely depend on the manner in which he settles the crisis over his Economic Affairs Minister.

Here the word "crisis" is appropriate. The discussion surrounding Count Lambsdorff is developing into an explosive brew that could severely limit the capacity of Kohl and Lambsdorff to make their own decisions.

Some CDU members have only indirectly expressed doubts about Lambsdorff's ability.

When CDU general secretary Heiner Geissler said that Germany has fallen behind in technology and that this could pose a threat to its existence, he is unlikely to have meant to put all the blame on the former government. After all, the new government has been in office for a year.

Geissler did not directly attack Lambsdorff, but he is trying to provide a safety valve for the growing ranks of the disaffected in the CDU/CSU.

The increasingly fierce dispute between the parties and between the coalition and the judiciary is poisoning the atmosphere. The irritability in dealing with each other is affecting a government that more than a year ago promised to bring about a political change or at least improve the climate.

Even the more favourable tones with which Kohl must be credited are being drowned in the general cacophony.

Though there is no sign of the government crisis that Strauss seems to think exists, the nation has been known to let itself get talked into a crisis.

Klaus Dreher  
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 6 December 1983)

Their view is that an effective Economic Affairs Minister is the best guarantee of a sound economic policy.

How is one to interpret Geissler's statement that the CDU now wants to concentrate on economic policy of not as an admission that there is much lost ground to be recaptured?

The mere announcement of such intentions means that the CDU wants to draft a new economic policy concept - either because Lambsdorff's policy is not clear or because it is not liked by the CDU.

This adds a third component to the already existing moral-political and legal components: an ability evaluation. This is hard on Lambsdorff because almost everybody in the CDU is handing out heavy praise for Finance Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg.

Those who urge Lambsdorff to stay in office because sinister powers have done him an injustice are only superficially doing him a favour.

What they are actually doing is to force Lambsdorff to enter a dispute that he could not win even if his nerves were a lot stronger and his friends more numerous than he claims.

It is his backers who prove that the government would weather the attacks much more effectively if he resigned.

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Klaus Dreher  
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 6 December 1983)



Richard von Weizsäcker... everybody's choice.  
(Photo: Poly-Press)

1979 he won the largest majorities ever.

He was given second place on the Rhineland-Palatinate state electoral list and voted into the Bundestag in 1969. He was reelected in 1972, 1976 and 1980.

It was largely due to his work that the CDU/CSU, though it opposed the East Bloc Treaties, made their ratification possible by abstaining.

Weizsäcker was a candidate for the Berlin majority in 1979. But he was defeated by his Social Democratic opponent, Dietrich Stobbe.

His party won the spring 1981 election and later that year the assembly elected him mayor.

After two years Opposition, his party entered a coalition with the FDP in March 1983.

Von Weizsäcker is married and has three sons and a daughter.

His hobbies are chess and mountaineering and his favourite authors are Shakespeare and Theodor Fontane.

(Weizsäcker Allgemeine, 29 November 1983)

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(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 6 December 1983)

## Turbulent week, but all is not darkness

The outlook is not all bleak despite a turbulent week in the Bundestag. The European Community will muddle along in spite of the breakdown of the Athens Summit. And the budget just passed by the Bundestag is one of recovery.

The vicious circle of willy-nilly borrowing has been overcome even though experts know the country will continue to groan under a mountain of debt. This debt will make innovative investment almost impossible for the next 10 to 15 years.

Both the Chancellor and the Finance Minister made this quite clear in the budget debate.

There was a clear warning that the nation is far from over the hump despite the silver lining.

Projecting the "dark domestic and foreign affairs picture," it becomes apparent that the coalition's performance has been better than the mood.

The coalition still finds it difficult to sell itself. But charges by the SPD opposition that the Chancellor and his government have failed all along the line are only ritual.

Where should the political parties fight it out if not in the Bundestag? It is there that they must articulate their opposing political positions. And it is there that the elected representatives of the people have a right to voice their claims to leadership.

The budget debate provided an overall picture of Germany's domestic and foreign affairs. From the Opposition point of view, it was a squaring of accounts with the government.

Chancellor Helmut Kohl's report on the Athens Summit was not encouraging. But in the subsequent debate he left no doubt as to who drafts the policy guidelines.

Naturally, every budget reflects a policy idea. Its statistics and nuances reflect the aims of the government. And it is exactly here that the government revealed weaknesses.

What the public expects is a timetable that would show which problems will be solved by whom in the next three years.

The government can chalk it up as a success that business has declared 1983 the year of the turn for the better.

But there is still a wide gap between lip service and performance.

There are enormous tasks in social and economic policies (not to mention the European Community). But if the "hot" signs are anything to go by, the "hot autumn" will be followed by a mild winter.

Alex Rummel  
(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, 9 December 1983)



## No sign yet of mooted new Aliens Act

Bonn's aliens policy is based on three principles: to integrate foreign workers and their families who have lived for some time in Germany; to restrict the numbers of new migrants; and to encourage voluntary repatriation.

Legislation aimed at helping voluntary repatriation has been passed, but after all the hue and cry, it turned out to be a modest piece of law.

But it demonstrates the government's intention to do something. Nothing more ambitious was possible because of a lack of funds (included in the plan was a cash grant).

However, there is so far no sign of a new Aliens Act the Chancellor said was to have been drafted.

The Free Democrats, junior partner in the Bonn coalition, seem prepared to risk a head-on clash with Interior Minister Zimmermann on the age limit up to which children are to be allowed to join their parents in Germany.

Herr Zimmermann is determined to limit this right to six years as against the current limit of 16.

But Labour Minister Norbert Blum, unlike his Social Democratic predecessors, is not in favour of such a sweeping change.

Neither is Frau Funcke, the FDP's aliens affairs commissioner, who is often referred to by FDP leader and Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher as the migrant workers' angel.

To Herr Zimmermann's proposals, he seems unlikely to gain his point on this occasion.

Frau Funcke and the Free Democrats have an easier time of it now the 1982 figures have shown more foreign nationals to have left Germany than have arrived.

In 1982, for the first time since 1977, the net figure was an outflow: 111,600. It was the same story in the first quarter of 1983: 59,600 immigrants to 95,000 emigrants, or returns.

Aliens policy restrictions have made their mark on the figures, as has the general state of the economy.

This combination may have taken the immediate urgency out of the problem,

but it is still far too early to give the all-clear.

The net outflow is not certain to continue. The economy is picking up and job prospects for foreign workers are improving.

The number of children affected by the Interior Minister's proposal to reduce the age limit can only be estimated.

Turkish workers in the Federal Republic are estimated to have about 160,000 children aged between six and 16 back home in Turkey.

Several conditions must in any case be fulfilled before children can join their parents in Germany. Maybe 90,000 to 100,000 in this age group could do so as the law stands.

The true number, Frau Funcke's staff say, is more likely to be 40,000 to 50,000. About half the Turkish workers in Germany are seriously considering returning home.

They also claim the risk of a fresh wave of immigration resulting from a spate of Turkish weddings is fairly slight, existing restrictions being what they are.

There is no doubt that a decision not to impose further restrictions on immigration, as favoured by the FDP, might be the lesser evil.

It would certainly be so in relation to the Turkish "invasion" forecast for after 1986 when, by the terms of Turkey's association agreement with the EEC, Turkish workers would be freely entitled to live and work anywhere in the Common Market.

Herr Genscher and other Free Democrats have on several occasions conveyed the impression that Turkey would only be willing to forgo this right if Bonn didn't reduce the age limit for children.

Yet the terms of the association agreement dealing with freedom of domicile and employment are subject to interpretation.

Herr Genscher has been accused by both CDU/CSU politicians and trade union officials well-disposed toward his views on aliens policy, such as Siegfried Bleicher of the DGB national executive,

but it is still far too early to give the all-clear.

The problem of refugees in Western Europe is not as great as people think," says Gilbert Jaeger, president of UNICEF.

He told a meeting in Constance that recession and unemployment was fueling hostility towards refugees. The hostility was aggravated because refugees and other foreigners tended to be lumped together.

The number of refugees coming into Western Europe was greatly exaggerated. In 1981, there were 600,000, or 0.14 per cent of the population.

Of these, 117,000 came to West Germany, 0.16 per cent of the population. Germany would receive about 20,000 asylum applications this year, or 0.03 per cent of the population.

This meant that the number of refugees in Western Europe was low. The real problem was in Asia and Africa.

But there was disagreement from another delegate, Bernhard Happe, of Cologne. Speaking as a representative of *Deutscher Städtetag*, the standing conference of German cities, he said refugees

were posing a big problem for the municipalities involved which had to provide housing and other aid.

Close to 100,000 refugees had to be accommodated in 1980. This, plus the foreigners already in the country, meant there was a real problem.

A Munich member of the Bundestag, Siegfried Rost (CSU), said that Germans did not differentiate between foreigners and refugees.

Displaced persons, refugees and repatriates were all lumped together. This worsened the problem.

Delegates, from Germany, Austria and Switzerland agreed that the most important areas of help were access to the job market, language, integration



United Nations' refugees high commissioner Poul Hartling (centre) with Chancellor Kohl (right) and Interior Minister Zimmermann in Bonn.

of not having been energetic enough in his efforts to persuade the European Commission to amend these provisions.

History must weigh heavily on any German government. None can afford to create the impression of pursuing an inhuman aliens policy. Its international standing would plummet as a result.

Yet it would be asking too much of the Federal Republic to expect it to help solve the employment problems of other countries in addition to its own.

On the home front the Bonn government is bound to be measured by the yardstick of its success in dealing with employment problems.

It could well create even more difficulties for itself with its aliens policy. Bonn is walking a tight-rope in this connection.

Difficult though the tight-rope walk may be, continued uncertainty over aliens policy is irresponsible, especially towards foreign residents.

It is time the various government departments agreed on a draft of a new Aliens Bill to be submitted to the Bonn Cabinet.

There must be an end to double standards in aliens policy.

It is true that children who come to Germany at a late age have a harder time at school and find it harder to get a job, whereas children who arrive here aged six or below stand a much better chance of integration.

But those who want to stem the tide for labour market and demographic reasons ought to own up and stop relying on arguments that serve merely as camouflage.

*Rainer Nahrendorf*  
(Handelsblatt, 7 December 1983)

## Refugees 'just a small problem in Europe'

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Delegates, from Germany, Austria and Switzerland agreed that the most important areas of help were access to the job market, language, integration

and orientation courses, housing and social assistance. They deplored that fact that refugees are increasingly forced to live in hostels.

The meeting was organised by the *Diakonisches Hilfswerk der Evangelischen Kirche in Deutschland* (a Protestant Church organisation) and its counterparts in Austria and Switzerland.

Klaus Feldmann of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees in Geneva suggested that refugees from non-European countries come to Europe because help was not available in other countries closer to home.

Another delegate said ties dating back to the colonial era also contributed to this.

The global number of refugees is estimated at between 10m and 15m. Most have found a permanent place to settle.

Bundestag member Horst Jaunisch (SPD) stressed that Germany sheltered and integrated 14 million displaced persons and refugees after the war.

Germany also had 4.7 million foreign-

Continued on page 5

Next year Bonn is to contribute \$2.2m, an increase of 20 per cent on 1983. Germany currently accounts for 6.6 per cent of the agency's budget.

That makes the Federal Republic the third-largest donor. Only the United States and Japan pay more: 25 and 15 per cent respectively.

The UN agency looks after 10 million refugees, mainly in South-East Asia, Africa and Central America.

In the Federal Republic the *Landes- oder Bundesamt*, spend DM700m a year on about 100,000 refugees in Germany.

Mr Hartling said he was worried by the growing misgivings about foreigners in the industrialised countries.

The Federal Republic was exempted in that the right of asylum was included in its constitution. His agency benefited from both cash and other assistance from Bonn and the European Community.

All political parties in Bonn agreed that refugees deserved to be treated in a manner in keeping with human dignity.

*Werner Gutmann*  
(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 8 December 1983)

## PERSPECTIVE

## Germany, America: differing approaches to politics

London Craig, a leading US modern historian, has been awarded an honorary degree by the history department of the Free University of Berlin.

Over several days leading up to the ceremony a symposium was held in Germany and the West. It was addressed by leading historians.

Professor Craig said in his lecture on foreign policies of the United States and Germany, that over the years the two countries had arrived at fundamentally different points of view.

The Germans had entered modern history as a nation that viewed the state as an ideal. The Americans attached importance to the idea of popular sovereignty rather than that of the state.

The different views on foreign policy were because of this difference in starting points.

In Germany foreign policy was the domain of statesmen and subject to *raison d'Etat*, which in its turn made use of the quest for balance and balance of power.

Continued from page 4

It was up to the political parties to create an atmosphere of tolerance.

Reinhold of the Berne Foreign Office and Johann Pachernegg of the Interior Ministry pointed to the need for Switzerland and Austria as transit countries for refugees and asylum seekers.

He said that there were 33,000 refugees and almost a million foreigners in Switzerland — a higher percentage than in Germany — and that this had led to unrest. A bill that would have imposed residence provisions for foreigners had been defeated in Parliament.

Pachernegg spoke of his country's "disasters" in the wake of the population uprising and the "Prague Spring".

He dealt with the influx of repatriates from Eastern Europe as what he called a "German speciality."

He said that there were barely any Germans arriving from Russia and Poland now. But the influx from Rumania had increased.

He put this year's estimate for ethnic Germans from Rumania at 17,000. The numbers here were essentially the same with refugees.

There were still between 260,000 and 300,000 Germans in communist countries waiting to come.

There was a growing number of Germans coming with the repatriates, with or without exit permits.

The general view was that Germany should take more migrants.

Happe suggested that there was no reason for hostility towards foreigners but that unemployment led to indifference and antagonism.

He concluded that the main element governing public attitudes towards refugees were fear, envy and competition.

Improved integration of refugees, Happe said, was largely a matter of cooperation between government authorities and private charities, plus public awareness.

A note of warning against isolating refugees in hostels was sounded.

*Werner Gutmann*  
(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 2 December 1983)

Foreign affairs were viewed as a matter for diplomats and career politicians, and not for the man in the street.

Professor Craig contrasted this outlook with the traditional American principle of not allowing the United States to become mixed up in the dealings of the Old World.

Since the US Declaration of Independence foreign policy had been viewed as an evil, and at one stage America was proud of the idea US foreign policy consisted of not having a policy.

The balance-of-power system and international alliance policies were seen as something threatening. They were felt to be ominous from Adams to Woodrow Wilson, he said.

If America had pursued foreign policies, then they had been expected to be keeping with the will of the people, there by demonstrating the moral superiority of the American people over other continents.

In Germany this moral view of politics had been lacking, not to say rejected. In America the ideological factor had prompted one President after another to offer his fellow countrymen a fundamental moral justification of his policy.

Thinking in terms of friend and foe, up to and including the division of the world into good and evil under President Reagan, had been the result.

War was seen as a breach of the law of common sense, aggressors were seen as evil-doers and their destruction as legitimate.

The traditional German view since Clausewitz, that war was merely a continuation of politics by other means, was alien to Americans. For them wars had more in common with crusades.

Against the background of this line of argument Professor Craig explained American isolationist policy after the First World War as a reversion to long-standing tradition.

It had come about after President Wilson's idealistic expectations of American involvement in the First World

War had been let down by the terms of the Treaty of Versailles.

President Roosevelt had long followed this isolationist trend, and America entered the Second World War less as a result of realising how dangerous Hitler was for the world than on account of the Japanese raid on Pearl Harbour.

A typical point, as Craig saw it, was that the Americans under Roosevelt lacked a rational policy concept for postwar Germany and Europe.

It took their dispute with the Russians between 1947 and 1949 over Berlin and Germany to convince them of the need for a reorientation.

The result was that the United States for the first time in its history forged long-term alliance links in pacts such as Nato.

German reunification had been of no importance to US foreign policy since Kennedy and Nixon.

Their policies of balance of power and quest for a *modus vivendi* with the Soviet Union were based on the unviability of existing borders and renunciation of the use of force.

US policy was thus based on the division of Germany as a foundation of the *modus vivendi* sought with the Soviet Union.

The reason for the change-over from this detente policy to a new ice age was, as Professor Craig saw it, that people in traditional suspicion of *realpolitik* and implying with the balance of power.

But the reversion to traditional American attitudes had not changed US alliance policy inasmuch as America under President Reagan had strengthened Nato and the United States was continuing to shoulder its European responsibilities.

In his address in honour of Professor Craig the president of the Free University, Professor Heckelmann, recalled Craig's long-standing ties with Berlin and the university.

He first taught at the Free University in 1962 when he was appointed to the Theodor Heuss chair endowed by the Ford Foundation.

*Hans Gerlach*  
(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 10 December 1983)

Bonn's treaties with the East Bloc countries and the Basic Treaty with the GDR were widely interpreted as recognition of the division of Germany.

They finally reduced to mere scraps of paper previous commitments and declarations, Hillgruber said.

It had since often been argued that the Germans had to renounce the right to self-determination because the balance of power in Europe was based on the division of Germany.

He said that the Germans' right to self-determination only applied to the territories they were allowed by the Allies to retain.

Territories east of the Oder-Neisse line that now formed part of Poland were not affected.

A clear statement of intent on this point, reunification of the Federal Republic, the GDR and Berlin, might play a part in taking Western policy on Germany out of a blind alley, he said. He called for greater commitment on the part of the United States in particular.

*(Der Tagesspiegel, 4 December 1983)*

By means of his new *Ostpolitik* Chancellor Brandt had sought to ease the dilemma in which policy toward the East Bloc was caught.

He was an honorary professor at the Free University and had remained loyal to Berlin throughout the years of campus unrest and university reform, Professor Heckelmann said.

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Gordon Craig (left) receives his honorary doctorate of philosophy from Professor Dieter Hertz-Elchenrode at the Free University of Berlin.

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*(Der Tagesspiegel, 4 December 1983)*

## Nato initiative

Continued from page 1

capability is not going to make much difference in this respect. Quite apart from the cost and the technical problems, nuclear weapons will still not be superfluous. The most that can be expected is that they will not need to be used at as early a stage of hostilities as at present.

troops. Besides, it would presuppose a Soviet attack.

That brings us full-circle, with views differing widely on whether a Soviet attack is at all conceivable and how it might be made less probable.

How much deterrence is enough? And to what extent can co-operation with the Soviet leadership — any Soviet leadership — make reunification once and for all of political and military expansion, at least in Europe, a palatable prospect?

View will long continue to differ on this point, but the nuclear risk is steadily increasing and the time available for arriving at a compromise is not unlimited.

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A theory that the main culprit for the damage to German forests is not acid rain but ozone is becoming more widely accepted.

The suggestion was first made last year by the Institute for Emission Protection in Essen. But it was received with scepticism.

Damage to forests in Germany is increasing at an enormous rate. A report now says that 35 per cent of forest area is affected compared with eight per cent in 1982. Foresters say those figures are conservative.

Acid rain has been blamed by most people. But that is changing.

Professor Hans-Achim Gussone, of the Göttingen Forestry Experimental Station, says there is much about the damage that just cannot be explained.

A timber authority at Freiburg University, Professor Horst Courtois, says all the talk about acid rain is nonsense. He says a malignant fungus called *fo-mus annosus* is causing the damage.

Professor Otto Kandler, of Munich, believes the cause has yet to be discovered.

Another forestry expert, Claus Schulte-Uebbing, blames microwaves.

The fact is that few are sure of anything. However Professor Heinrich Stratzmann, head of the Emission Protection Institute believes in the ozone theory.

Last year, nobody could think of anything but acid rain, and one of its component parts, sulphur dioxide was blamed as the sole culprit — much to the annoyance of power station managements.

Then North Rhine-Westphalia's Labour and Social Affairs Minister, Friedhelm Farthmann, caused a sensation by announcing that a new major culprit

## ■ THE ENVIRONMENT

# Ozone at centre of a new theory about dying trees

Saarbrücker Zeitung

had been found by the Essen Institute: ozone.

The immediate reaction was that North Rhine-Westphalia simply wanted to remove any blame from coal and the power stations.

Ozone, an oxidation agent, is formed by a reaction between nitrogen oxides and hydrocarbons when exposed to strong sunlight. Professor Stratzmann and his closest collaborator, Dr Prinz, realised that acid rain alone could not be at the root of the problem.

Trees they looked at in the Black Forest and which had been allegedly killed by acid rain had a rich growth of lichen.

The lichen, which is sensitive to air pollution, was thriving in sulphur dioxide (SO<sub>2</sub>) contaminated areas.

Trees in lime soil, which should have been particularly well protected, were dying. Yet down in the valley, where the SO<sub>2</sub> concentration was particularly high, they were doing well.

The scientists also found that trees were dying near the Schausland data collection station where the SO<sub>2</sub> concentration was only 5 microgrammes per cubic metre of air.

The damage increases progressively as SO<sub>2</sub> combines with ozone. Ozone cracks the protective layer of leaves, paving the way for other toxic substances.

Doctors involved in the SO<sub>2</sub> discussion have pointed to the clearly established link between this toxic gas and bronchial cancer in humans. So what troubles trees also troubles people.

The Essen Institute can recognise the cause of tree ailments by the symptoms: SO<sub>2</sub> leads to yellowish and brown tints. Ozone creates little brown spots on leaves and needles. Yellowing throughout indicates a combination of culprits.

In the Fichtelgebirge range and in the Black Forest, Institute scientists have now found a new type of damage, trees whose leaves are yellow underneath and green on top. They cannot explain the phenomenon.

The ozone theory gets more support from the fact that the sulphur dioxide content of rain has not risen since 1976. But the nitrogen oxide emission has risen some 70 per cent since 1966, primarily due to the increase in motor traffic.

The only plausible conclusion must be to drastically reduce the emission of hydrocarbons and nitrogen oxides.

In Germany, motor traffic accounts for about 45 per cent of the overall nitrogen oxide emission of 3,000 kilotons. Power stations and district heating plants account for 31 per cent.

It is technically possible to make exhaust fumes almost completely non-toxic.

German motor manufacturers use catalysts that are now standard for cars exported to the USA and Japan.

But they oppose Interior Minister Friedrich Zimmermann's deadline for the installation of catalysts in all new cars by 1 January 1986.

The industry argues that many engines depend on lead in petrol and that the use of the unleaded variety calls for new materials and different cylinder heads.

The petrol-air mixture in the carburetor would have to be electronically controlled.

Oil companies will be able to provide enough lead-free petrol by 1986.

The question is, is there enough time left to save the forests?

Catalysts cannot be introduced from one day to the next. Neither can installations to remove SO<sub>2</sub> from industrial smoke be bought off the peg. And the investments needed are enormous.

For instance, Saarbergwerke has to invest DM70m to increase the emission of desulphurised smoke of its Bexbach plant from 35 to 70 per cent.

It will take another DM100m to comply with new regulations that permit

Ozone came under further suspicion when was found that most of the damage was to the tree tops, where the greatest exposure to sunlight is.

The sun is a catalyst in the manufacture of ozone, causing the reaction between nitrogen oxides and hydrocarbons. Nitrogen oxides can form a diluted form of acid that is washed into the soil by rain.

In this way, nitrogen oxides play a major role in acid rain which, along with SO<sub>2</sub>, is not freed from blame just because ozone is now the main culprit.

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'They've solved the acid-rain problem'

only 400mg of SO<sub>2</sub> per cubic metre of air.

The company intends to set an example and achieve the 400mg level by the 1988 government deadline.

The same will be done to the 111 power station where 50 per cent of the smoke will have 80 per cent sulphur filtered out.

Bexbach and Weiher III already below permissible levels of sulphur oxide emissions.

North Rhine-Westphalia's State Government has to raise DM700m to adapt power stations.

The company doubts whether suppliers will be able to keep the deadlines.

RWE has taken the big plunge into nitrate power stations, which are particularly bad polluters.

Equipped with wet desulphurisation plants worth DM2.5bn, they lack of experience with this high-tech equipment.

The dry additives in use appear to have not been very efficient.

Experts expect the wet process to be effective.

They reckon that the SO<sub>2</sub> emission from the lignite power stations in the ne-Düsseldorf-Aachen triangle will drop from the present 400,000 tons to 100,000 tons. Electricity production will go up.

The installation of these new technologies will have an effect on the job market. Many new jobs will have to be created to convert old equipment and to build new purifying plants.

Environmentalists agree that there is no point in waiting until the next year. The forest death have been halted, searched.

Pollution must be reduced as far as possible. But there are no more that can be introduced from now on.

Large scale fertilising, a suggestion that has been made on occasion, is unsuitable because lime can destroy surface fauna and flora.

Another approach would be to use mineral magnesium via the leaves of trees.

Laboratory experiments have shown that a laboratory is not a forest and a forest is another.

One hobby researcher has suggested that the problem be tackled with a mixture of sucrose and water. The fact that some scientists have taken this idea only underlines their helplessness.

Rainer W. Immanuel (Saarbrücker Zeitung, 19 November 1983)

scientists in various disciplines from other countries have spent a week in Berlin discussing the biology of

There may be no substitute for drill, but the brain comes by it. Maybe, they know how it is done will make

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## ■ LEARNING

# A look into the mechanism of acquiring knowledge

They are lost, much like baby-talk. Babies too produce sounds they no longer need in adult speech.

The genes seem to work by selecting and suppressing what has been learnt or spontaneously acquired.

Observations such as and similar to these have led experts to conclude that the biological mechanism of learning is identical or at least closely related in man and animals.

The only difference is the greater extent to which the process is perfected among higher species.

What is more, the extent to which species and individuals adapt to their place in the scheme of things genetically determines the extent of their learning ability.

They simply don't learn what they don't need to know to cope with life.

Revealing information in this context was provided by Professor Martin Lindauer, of Würzburg, a student of Karl von Frisch, who deciphered the language of bees.

Bees, like other animals, are capable of selective learning. In their quest for nectar, for instance, they make a note of the position of the Sun, landmarks and flower colours.

But they don't bother with any other characteristics of the landscape.

Birds too learn only what they need to know, which is not to say that their genetic make-up, or that of other species, lacks greater potential.

This potential is suppressed, however, in relation to the species and its living environment.

When birds breed with others of their species they must be able to recognise their own chicks individually to feed them once they have left the nest.

Some properties of the brain, such as certain learning abilities and special patterns of electrical activity, are genetically transmitted and handed down in keeping with simple rules.

Professor Friedrich Vogel, a Heidelberg geneticist, made this point in a lecture to the Science College in West Berlin.

In the quest for genes that influenced certain brain functions, he said, scientists were still virtually at square one.

He began by describing an experiment he and his staff had carried out in Heidelberg, where they had taught birds to laboratory mice.

They were taught to make what to the other side of their cells to avoid an electric shock after a light flash.

Mice from various strains of inbreeding got the hang of it at varying speeds. Cross-breeding and genetic analysis showed differences in learning ability to be transmitted by a single gene.

The scientists then looked for biochemical and morphological changes that might account for the differences in learning skill.

Mice that were poor learners, they discovered, had an above average number of synapses in a certain section of the hippocampus, a part of the brain associated with learning and the emotions.

But the causal connections between ability to learn and the structural difference had yet to be established.

Seagulls, which live in colonies, are past masters at recognising their young as soon as they have hatched.

Birds that breed on their own in contrast only get to know their young once they get out and about. They don't need to do so earlier.

But once the young leave the nest they can still not fend for themselves, so their parents still have to look after them and need to be able to recognise them.

The three-toed gull, which nests on its own along cliffs, never gets to recognise its young. It doesn't need to. As soon as they leave the nest they can fend for themselves.

With some exceptions man too can be said as a rule only to learn what he absolutely needs.

It is extremely important for people to recognise voices and language, Aachen neurologist Walter Huber told the conference.

But how does a child know what sounds are speech and what aren't? And how does it know when exposed to a confusion of languages which is its mother tongue?

There can be no doubt, Huber said, that babies have an inherent speech recognition facility that serves the purpose of learning the mother tongue.

A computer would be overtaxed mathematically if it were required to decide from a list of grammatical and word sequences which language was which.

Genetics are naturally keen to find out how and where in the brain the process of learning takes place and how, in the grid of billions of nerve cells, links between congenital and acquired knowledge are established.

Discoveries are often owed to people part of whose brains have been put out

of action by accident or illness, such as a stroke.

Huber told the tale of patients who could no longer remember recent events but were perfectly aware of events two or more years earlier (before their illness).

They were able to learn how to solve certain intellectual tasks but unable to remember them the following day. On repetition they proved faster at solving them than newcomers, however.

Three inferences may be drawn. Their memories are intact. Their ability to retain what they have just learnt is damaged. The memory and the capacity for learning seem not to be located at the same point in the brain.

We must forget as a rule any idea that knowledge is stored in individual cells and specific areas of the brain, said Frankfurt brain specialist Professor Wolf Singer.

Individual items of knowledge, experience and memory of specific happenings are probably represented by identical neuron activity in a wide array of cells.

These cell patterns are probably arranged differently for each item of knowledge.

A fairly clear idea of how the short-term memory works is already available. Specific carrier substances similar to hormones in the brain change the information count of excited nerve cells during the learning process.

The long-term memory seems to be a more complicated business.

Specific proteins have not yet been extracted from cell matter as knowledge storage facilities. So there would seem to be no more point in the old idea of students simply eating their proof before the exam to be sure of inn marks.

Yet proteins definitely play a key role. When the formation of proteins is impeded in nerve cells, Professor Lindauer explained, nothing more is allowed into the memory and nothing out of it.

Dieter Dietrich (Hannoversche Allgemeine, 21 November 1983)

This too would seem to indicate that development is genetically controlled.

Professor Vogel and his staff were surprised when they investigated the genetic inheritance of certain electroencephalogram patterns that are fairly uncommon among the general public.

The alpha waves, or brain activity in a state of relaxation, are very meagre. This property is transmitted via a single gene, entirely in keeping with Mendel's rules.

Such a simple inheritance, which has since been shown to occur in connection with other infrequent electroencephalogram patterns, was not to be expected in connection with such a complex phenomenon.

No-one yet knows what mental properties occur in connection with these special EEG features, and that was the context in which criticism was voiced after the lecture.

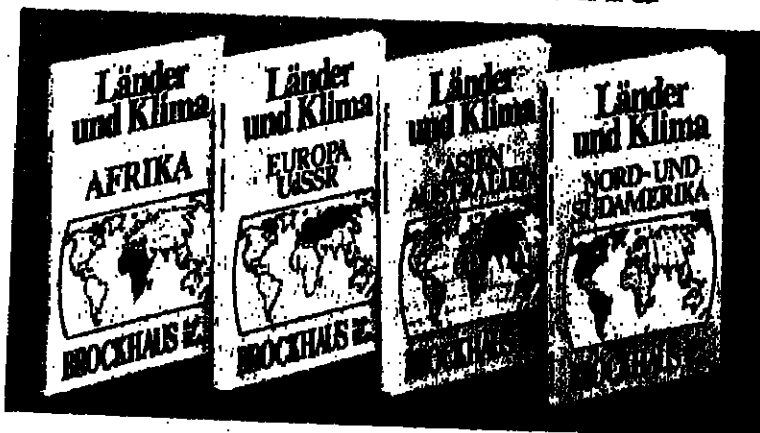
What point was there in probing the genetics of electroencephalogram patterns when their relationship with mental functions was unknown?

Professor Vogel said there was no alternative as yet to investigating such easily measurable and constant characteristics as the EEG.

The part played by the genetic make-up in mapping out brain functions could only be ascertained by dissecting the complex processes that went on in the brain into simple partial processes.

Henning Engel (Der Tagesspiegel, 28 November 1983)

## Meteorological stations all over the world



supplied the data arranged in see-at-a-glance tables in these new reference works. They include details of air and water temperature, precipitation, humidity, sunshine, physical stress of climate, wind conditions and frequency of thunderstorms.

These figures compiled over the years are invaluable both for planning journeys to distant countries and for scientific research.

Basic facts and figures for every country in the world form a preface to the tables. The emphasis is on the country's natural statistics, on climate, population, trade and transport.

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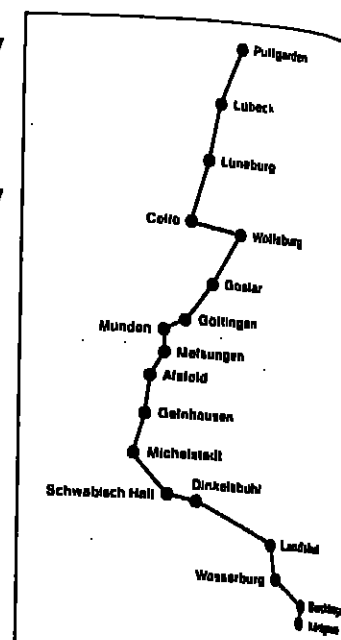
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# Routes to tour in Germany

## The German Holiday Route – from the Alps to the Baltic



German roads will get you there, and if you plan to see as much as you can, why not travel the length of the country? From the Alpine foothills in the south via the typical Mittelgebirge range to the plains of the north, you will pass through the most varied landscapes. And so you needn't take pot luck in deciding on a route, we recommend the German Holiday Route from the Alps to the Baltic.



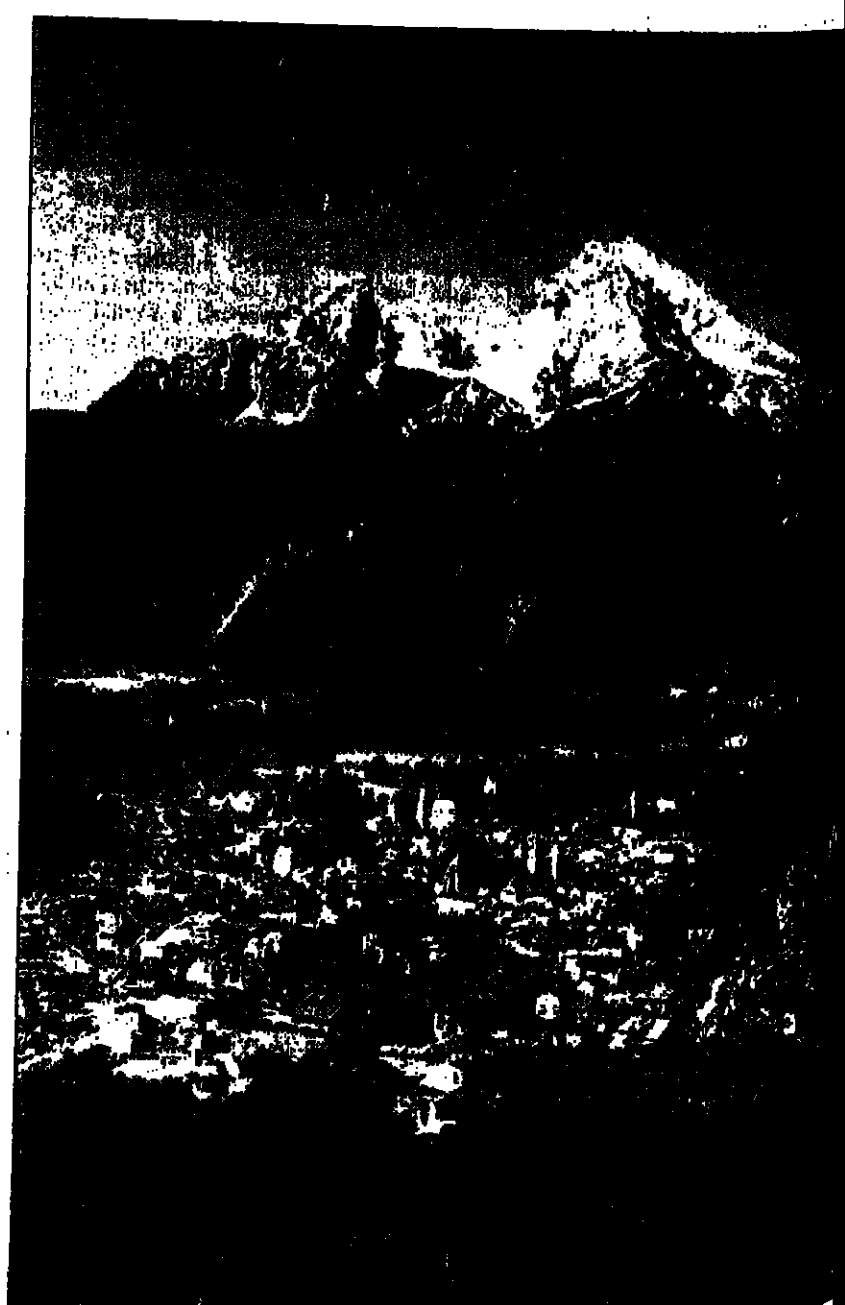
Start in the south with Berchtesgaden and its bob run. Maybe you have already heard tell of Landshut, a mediaeval Bavarian town with the world's largest brick-and-mortar tower. Or of Erbach in the Odenwald, with its castle and the Ivory Museum. Or of Alsfeld with its half-timbered houses, the Harz mountain towns or the 1,000-year-old-Hanseatic port of Lübeck.

Visit Germany and let the Holiday Route be your guide – from the Alps to the Baltic.

- 1 Lübeck
- 2 Melsungen
- 3 Schwäbisch Hall
- 4 Berchtesgaden



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